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THREE QUR'ĀNIC FOLIOS FROM A COLLECTION IN FINLAND

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This is a contribution to the study of the Qur'ānic text through an edition and study of three folios, called K176, K182, and K185, that are paleographically relatively early. The folios do not belong to the same codex but are separate leaves; they are kept at a private collection in Finland called the Ilves Collection. We can place them, tentatively, to the third/ninth century. The Qur'ānic folios presented here attest some variant spellings to the text of the Cairo Royal edition. The parchments have, in many cases, the *scriptio plena* where Cairo has a more defective writing (the medial *ā*). They give us more evidence that the *rasm* of Qur'ānic manuscripts was not completely stable.

INTRODUCTION

Research into the textual history of the Qur'ān has progressed immensely in recent decades with the study of early Qur'ānic codices and fragments.¹ Of these studies, one can mention especially Jeffery & Mendelsohn (1942) and Ibn Warraq (2011) on the Samarqand codex; Déroche (2009) on the Codex Parisino-Petropolitanus and (2014) on the Umayyad-era Qur'āns in general; G. Puin (2011) on the Ṣan'ā' manuscripts; as well as Small (2011) for a comparison of the early Qur'ānic manuscripts. For other recent significant studies on the Qur'ān, see McAuliffe (2006), Reynolds (2008), and Neuwirth et al. (2011). Scholars should also note the translation of Theodor Nöldeke's work into English (2013). The recent studies seem to indicate that the Qur'ānic *rasm*, consonantal skeleton, became more or less stable very on and the variants in the early Qur'ānic manuscripts concern mostly orthography: whether and how to write the *hamza*, how to write the long vowel *ā*, especially the medial one, and so on. The theory of Wansbrough (1977) that even the Qur'ānic *rasm* postdates the life of the Prophet Muḥammad by some two centuries seems to be disproven by the documentary evidence (mostly early Qur'ānic manuscripts but also inscriptions and coins), which Wansbrough does not take into account.

Perhaps the narrative, found in the Islamic historiographical, exegetical, and literary sources that the third Caliph, 'Uthmān, ordered a group of scholars to codify the Qur'ānic *rasm* has a ring of truth to it. There is only scant manuscript evidence of Qur'ānic recensions that do not belong

¹ I thank Abbas Bahmanpour, Prof. Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, Jouni Harjumäki, Kaj Öhrnberg, and Irmeli Perho as well as the two anonymous reviewers for comments on an earlier draft of this article.

to the 'Uthmānic tradition.² The codification of the Qur'ān should probably not be placed later than circa the AH 30s/650s CE.³

Let me offer here a modest contribution to the study of the Qur'ānic text through an edition and study of three folios, called K176, K182, and K185, that are paleographically relatively early. The folios do not belong to the same codex but are separate leaves. We can place them, tentatively, to the third/ninth century or, perhaps less likely, the fourth/tenth century.⁴ K185 is probably earlier than K176 and K182 (see below). The scripts, with no or next to no diacritics differentiating between similar consonant forms but rather extensive vocalization, resemble other Qur'ānic manuscripts and fragments that have been dated paleographically to the third–fourth/ninth–tenth centuries, such as the University of Cambridge MS Add.743.2 and MS Add.1138.⁵ The fact that there are no verse markers in the parchments, except in K185 in a few unclear instances, also suggests an 'Abbāsīd rather than an Umayyad date.⁶ This is further corroborated by the folios' horizontal format (the width is greater than the height), which is usual in the 'Abbāsīd Qur'āns; in contrast, earlier Qur'ānic manuscripts often have a vertical format (Gacek 2012: 34).

The Qur'ānic folios are from a private collection in Finland called the Ilves Collection. The sigla are those given by the collector, who wishes to remain anonymous. The exact origins of the folios are unclear, but they have been bought at auction houses in the United Kingdom. The photographs, reproduced below, are courtesy of the collector.

When the orthography of the *rasm* in the folios differs from the standard Cairo edition, the spelling of the latter is given in the notes (referred to with the siglum ٣). Damaged parts are completed with the text of the Cairo edition. The folios will also be compared with two early Qur'ānic codices: Saray Medina 1a (K176 and K185) and Codex Parisino-Petropolitanus (K182).

THE TEXT OF K176

K176 is a Qur'ānic folio containing a part of sura 33 (*al-aḥzāb*). It is written in black-brown ink on a parchment, the width of which is 17.8 cm and the height 11.5 cm. Both sides of the parchment have 15 lines of text. K176 does not have verse markers contained in some other Qur'ānic manuscripts. There is some wear in the text. The acid of the ink has damaged the right corner of the recto and the left corner of the verso. Vowel signs are written in red ink; where these are legible, they are included in the edition below with modern vowel marks.⁷ The system in K176 (and, for that matter, K182) is the following: *fatha* is written with a dot above the letter, *kasra* with a dot below the letter, and *damma* with a dot near the base of the letter. Nunation is marked with two dots next to each other.⁸ There are no diacritics differentiating between

2 See Sadeghi & Bergmann (2010), who present a surviving non-'Uthmānic manuscript, and G. Puin (1996), who notes that some of the Ṣan'ā' manuscripts follow a different order from the 'Uthmānic recension in their arrangement of suras.

3 For the date of the Qur'ānic consonantal text, see Small 2011: 162–176; Sinai 2014. For a convincing refutation of a late codification of the Qur'ān, see Donner 1998: 1–63. For the regional variant codices, see Cook 2004.

4 On dating Qur'ānic manuscripts on paleographic grounds, see Déroche 1992; Gacek 2012: 97–98, 123–125, 157–158, 160–162, 167–168, 216–222. However, it should be noted that the dates provided here are tentative.

5 MS Add.743.2 viewable online at <culdl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-00743-00002/1> and MS Add.1138 viewable online at <culdl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01138/1>.

6 Déroche (2009: 143) notes that while our earliest Qur'ānic manuscripts scrupulously mark the verse endings, the third/ninth century manuscripts rarely do.

7 One of the reviewers noted that the red vowel signs in K176 and K182 might be later additions.

8 See Dutton 1999; Gruendler 2001: 139–141; Gacek 2012: 288–290 for the development of Arabic vocalization.



Figure 1 K176 recto

different consonants. Below, K176 will be compared to the early (dated to “before 800??” in Corpus Coranicum) Qur'ānic manuscript Saray Medina 1a (= Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi: M 1), abbreviated here as SM1a.⁹

K176 Recto

K176 recto (Figure 1) contains Q. 33:40 (partly) – 33:50 (partly):

١. [رح-]بَالِكُمْ وَلَكِنْ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ حَاشِمٌ¹⁰ النَّسَبِ وَكَأَنَّ
٢. [نَ]اللَّهِ بِكُلِّ سَيِّئَةٍ عَلِيمًا تَابَهَا الدِّينَ آمَنُوا اذْكُرُوا
٣. [الل-]هُ ذِكْرًا كَثِيرًا وَسَبِّحُوهُ بُكْرَةً وَأَصِيلًا هُوَ
٤. [الد-]ئِىْ يَصْلَىٰ عَلَيْكُمْ وَمَلَائِكَةٌ لِّخُرُوجِكُمْ مِّنَ الطُّلُوبِ اِ
٥. [لِى] النُّورِ وَكَانَ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَحِيمًا حَتَّىٰ يَوْمَ تَلْقَوْتَهُ سَلَامٌ
٦. [و]اَعِدْ لَهُمْ اَحْرًا كَرِيمًا تَابَهَا النَّبِيُّ اِنَّا اَرْسَلْنَاكَ
٧. [سَه-]دًا وَمُنِيرًا وَبَشِيرًا وَنَذِيرًا¹² اِلَى اللَّهِ يَا
٨. دُودُهُ وَسِرَاحًا¹³ مِّنْ بَرٍّ اَوَّسٍ اَلْمُؤْمِنِينَ بَانَ لَهُمْ مِّنَ اللَّهِ
٩. فَصَلَا كَثِيرًا وَلَا تَطِيعِ الْكُفْرَانَ وَالْمُنَافِقِينَ وَدَعَا
١٠. [د-]هُمْ وَيُؤْكَلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ وَكَفَىٰ بِاللَّهِ وَكِيلًا تَابَهَا الدِّ
١١. بَنَ اٰمَنُوا اِذَا يَخْرُجُكَمُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ¹⁴ نَمَّ طَلْعُهُمْ

9 Viewable online at <corpuscoranicum.de/handschriften/index/sure/33/vers/42/handschrift/56>.

10 This vocalization (*khātim*), rather clearly visible on the parchment, differs from that of the Cairo edition (*khātam*). However, *khātim* is actually dominant in the canonical readings; see al-Dānī 1930: 179; ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Khaṭīb 2002: VII, 292–293. SM1a, folio 186 recto, spells the word without the medial *alif* as *kh-t-m*.

11 The word appears to have two red dots under the *shīn*, probably indicating nunation. SM1a spells the word *sh-’-y*, which is usual in early Qur’āns. It is not certain what kind of pronunciation *sh-’-y* indicates.

12 The medial *ā* is missing in SM1a, fol. 186 verso.

13 See fn. no. 12.

14 The Cairo ed. and SM1a, fol. 186 verso, omit the medial *ā*.

٥. لِكَلَّا يَكُونَ عَلَيْكَ [حَرْجٌ]²⁹ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَفُورًا رَحِيمًا [نر]
 ٦. حَىٰ مِّن نَّسَاءٍ³⁰ مَّيْهَنَ وَتُؤَيَّى³¹ إِلَيْكَ مِّن نَّسَاءٍ وَمَن اسْتَعِيتَ مِمَّنْ
 ٧. عَرَلَتْ فَلَا حُجَاخَ عَلَيْكَ ذَلِكَ أَدْنَىٰ أَلَّا يَفْرَأَ [عَسْهَىٰ]
 ٨. وَلَا يَحْرَنَ وَيَرْصَنَ بِمَا اتَّخَذَ كُلَّهُنَّ وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ مَا فِي
 ٩. قُلُوبِكُمْ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلِيمًا حَلِيمًا لَا يَحُلُّ لَكَ النِّسَاءُ [ن]
 ١٠. بَعْدُ وَلَا أَنْ يَنْدَلَّ بِهِنَ مِنْ أَرْوَاحٍ³² وَلَوْ أَعْنَتَكَ [حَسْهَىٰ]
 ١١. إِلَّا مَا مَلَكَ تَمَنُّكَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ³³ رَّهِيًا نَّانِيهَا
 ١٢. الدِّينَ آمَنُوا لَا يَدْخُلُوا بُيُوتَ النَّبِيِّ إِلَّا أَنْ يُؤْذَنَ
 ١٣. لَكُمْ إِلَى طَعَامٍ³⁴ عِزَّ يَطِيرُونَ مِنْهُ وَلَكِنْ إِذَا دُعِيتُمْ
 ١٤. فَادْخُلُوا فَإِذَا طَعِمْتُمْ فَانْسَبُوا وَلَا مَسَابِيسَ³⁵
 ١٥. لَخَدِيبِ إِنْ دَلِمَكَ كَانَ بُودَى النَّبِيِّ فَيَسْجُنِي³⁶ مَعَكُمْ

Discussion of K176

We can see that K176 contains the same text as the Cairo edition with minor orthographic variation. The text of K176 is less defective than the Cairo text, save for diacritics and vowels, which are fully supplied in the latter. K176 often has the medial *alif*, representing the long vowel *ā*, where Cairo does not have this: K176 recto, l. 11, *al-mu'mināt*; l. 15, *'ammātika*; K176 verso, l. 10, *azwāj*. However, this does not mean that K176 always marks the medial *ā*. In many instances, K176 and Cairo agree in their spelling, for example, K176 verso, l. 13: *nāzīrīn*, in both recensions written without the medial *alif*: *n-ẓ-r-y-n*. The many *plene* spellings of the long *ā* are also an indication that K176 is not among our earliest Qur'ānic manuscripts. Rather, K176 postdates the earliest manuscripts by a century or two.

In l. 15, K176 verso contains the non-contracted verbal form *yastahyī*, and not *yastahī* as in the Cairo edition.³⁷ In two cases, it seems that the copyist of K176 wished to write the medial *hamza*, while in the *rasm* of Cairo it does not appear. These are K176 verso, l. 6, where the *rasm* seems to reflect the reading *tu'yī*, while Cairo has the consonantal text *t-w-y*.³⁸ The correct form, according to the rules of classical Arabic, would be *tu'wī* (2nd p. sing. imperfect form IV verb of the root *'-w-y*), not appearing in either consonantal skeleton. The other, clearer, instance of a *hamza* is K176 verso, l. 14, where the consonantal text appears to represent the reading *musta'nisīna*, contained in the Cairo edition's vocalized reading but not in its *rasm*.

The vocalization of K176 is unsystematic. Sometimes the *fatha* sign is used to denote the long *ā*, as in the vocative *yā-ayyuhā* (e.g. 176B, l. 6). For some reason, the scribe often marks with *fatha* the *nūn* of the sound masculine plural ending *-na*, even though the vowel should be reasonably clear to the readers. The scribe also feels the need to mark the feminine plural suffix

29 The word is somewhat damaged. However, the nunation mark is clearly visible after the word.

30 The vowel mark follows the *alif* and probably denotes the *hamza*: *tashā'u*. This phenomenon recurs in the parchment.

31 ق: تنوي. SM1a, fol. 187 recto has similarly *t-w-y*.

32 The Cairo ed. and SM1a, fol. 187 recto, omit the medial *ā*.

33 SM1a, fol. 187 verso, spells the word *sh-'y*.

34 SM1a, fol. 187 verso, omits the medial *ā*.

35 ق: مستنسين. Similarly in SM1a, fol. 187 verso.

36 ق: فيسجن. SM1a, fol. 187 verso, agrees with K176.

37 See also 'Abd al-Latīf al-Khaṭīb 2002: VII, 309–310.

38 For this word, see the different readings in 'Abd al-Latīf al-Khaṭīb 2002: VII, 303. The reading *tu'yī* does not appear among the canonical or non-canonical readings.

-*hunna* similarly. All in all, it seems that a final *nūn* is the letter that most often obtains a vowel mark. Whether this is related to the fact that the final *nūn* often also receives a diacritic point explicating the consonant (see K185, below), is unclear. The vocalization in K176 is in many cases redundant and does not really help the reading.

THE TEXT OF K182

K182 is a Qur'ānic parchment containing a fragment of sura 23 (*al-mu'minūn*). It is written in black-brown ink on a parchment with unfortunately some holes in it. The width of the parchment is 12.9 cm and the height 7.0 cm. The writing on K182 verso is so damaged that only a few words can be read. K182 recto is better preserved and easily legible save for a few holes in the parchment. K182 does not have verse markers. There are vowel signs written in red ink. K182 recto has 15 lines; the same is probably the case with the verso, but since it is not preserved well, this is not completely certain.

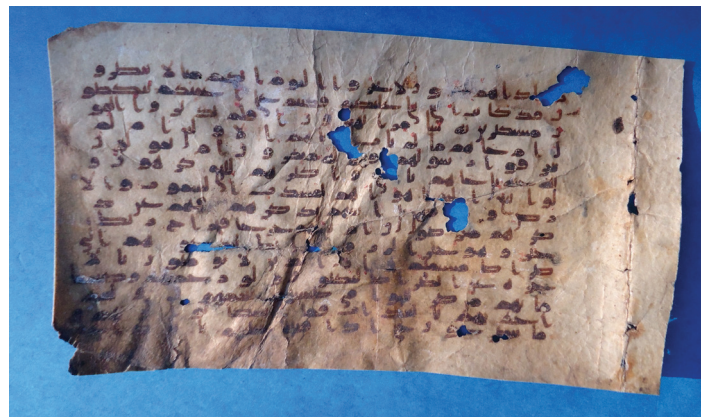


Figure 3 K182 recto

K182 Recto

The recto is easily readable (Figure 3), and the edition of the text is given below. It contains Q. 23:64 (partly) – 23:77 (partly).³⁹

١. ب ادا هم [بحر]ون⁴⁰ لا بحروا اليوم انكم منا لا تنصرو
٢. ن قد كابت انبي نللى علنكم فكنم على اعبيكم تنكصو
٣. ن مسكنرين نه سائر⁴¹ بهـ[بحر]ون⁴² أفلم تدروا العو

39 For this section, see also the (earlier) Codex Parisino-Petropolitanus in Déroche 2009: 236–237 (the Arabic section). The differences between K182 and Codex Parisino-Petropolitanus (CPP) are the following: 1) Q. 23:67, *sāmīran*: *s-ʿ-m-r-ʿ* in K182, *s-m-r-ʿ* in CPP; 2) Q. 23:72, *fa-kharāj*: *f-kh-r-ʿ-j* in K182, *f-kh-r-j* in CPP; 3 & 4) Q. 23:73 and 74, (*al-ṣirāt*: *ṣ-r-ʿ-ṭ* in K182, *ṣ-r-ṭ* in CPP; 5) Q. 23:76, *bi-l-ʿadhāb*, *b-ʿ-l-ʿdh-ʿ-b* in K182, *b-ʿ-l-ʿdh-b* in CPP.

40 The word is damaged.

41 ق: سمرا

42 A hole in the parchment.

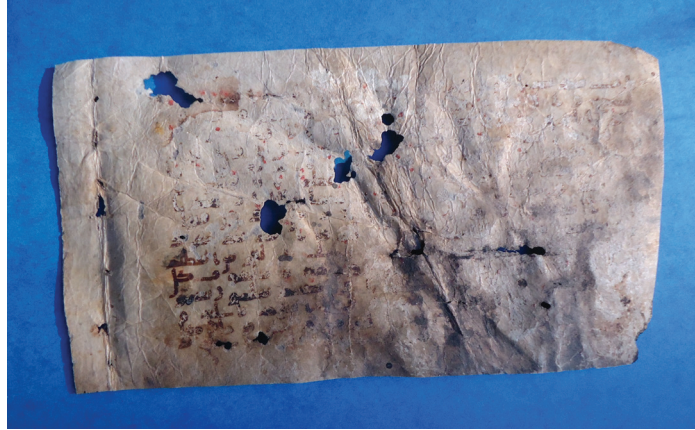


Figure 4 K182 verso

٤. لَ أَمْ حَآهِمْ مَا لَمْ نَأْتِ [أ] نَاهُمْ⁴³ أَلْأَوَّلِينَ أَمْ لَمْ
 ٥. يَعْرِفُوا رَسُولَهُمْ فَهُمْ لَهُ مَكْرُونَ أَمْ يَقُولُونَ
 ٦. بِهِ حَسْبُهُ نَلْ حَاهُمْ نَا [لحـ] ق⁴⁴ وَآكُرْهُمْ لِلْحَقِّ كَرَهُونَ وَ
 ٧. لَوْ اسْبَغِ [لحـ] قِ اهُوَأَهُمْ لَفَسَدَ السَّمُوتُ وَالْأَ
 ٨. رْصُ وَ [مـ] ق⁴⁵ فَهِنَّ نَلْ أَسْهَمَ بَدَكُرْهُمْ فَهَمَ عَن د
 ٩. كَرَهُمْ مَعْرِضُونَ أَمْ يَسْتَلْهُمْ حَرْحَا فَحَرَّاحَ رَيْك
 ١٠. حَنْزُ وَهُوَ حَنْزُ الرَّرْفِ [سـ] ق⁴⁶ [و] أَنْكَ [لندعو] هُمْ⁴⁷ إِلَى
 ١١. صِرَاطِ⁴⁸ مَسْغَمَ وَإِنَّ الدِّينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ نَالَا
 ١٢. حَرَهُ عِ الصِّرَاطِ⁴⁹ لَنُكُونُوا وَلَوْ رَحِمَ [نهم] وَكَ [سفن] ⁵⁰
 ١٣. مَا نَهُم مِّنْ صَرٍ لِّلْحَوَا فِي طَعْنِ [نهم] نَعْمَهُونَ وَلِ [عد]
 ١٤. أَحَدِهِمْ بِالْعَذَابِ فَمَا [اسد] كَانُوا [لربهم] وَ
 ١٥. مَا يَنْصَرِفُ [رـع] نُونَ حَتَّى إِذَا فُجِحُوا عَلَيْهِمْ نَا [بَا دَا عَد]

K182 Verso

The complete reading of K182 verso (Figure 4) is not given because of the poor state of the text, but it continues K182 recto, thus starting from Q. 23:77.

Only a couple of words at the end of lines 10–13 are legible (Q. 23:86–90):⁵¹

١٠. رَبِّ الْعَرْسِ الْعَظِيمِ
 ١١. مَلَكُوتِ كُلِّ
 ١٢. يَعْلَمُونَ سَعْفُ
 ١٣. أَنَّهُمْ بِالْحَقِّ

43 See fn. no. 42.

44 See fn. no. 42.

45 See fn. no. 42.

46 The last letter is not legible.

47 A hole in the parchment.

48 ق: صرط

49 ق: الصرط

50 The two words, *rahimnāhum* and *kashafnā*, are damaged on the parchment, as are some other words at the bottom of the recto. The reading is completed with the help of the Cairo edition.

51 I want to thank the other reviewer for very helpful comments on these lines.

Discussion of K182

At the top of the recto, the scribe has divided the last words (the plural verbs *tunṣarūna* and *tankiṣūna*) at the end of verses 23:65 and 66 onto two lines, so that the *nūns* belonging to the verbs and ending the verses start lines 2 and 3. The consonantal text of K182 recto is identical to the Cairo edition, save for the spelling of the word *sāmīran*, line 3, and *(al-)ṣirāṭ*, occurring twice, lines 11 and 12. Similar to K176, the text of K182 gives the *scriptio plena* in these cases whereas the Cairo edition has a more defective orthography, not spelling the medial *alif*. In other cases, K182 recto gives the same *scriptio defectiva* as Cairo: for example, l. 7, *al-samawāt*, and l. 12, *la-nākibūn*. In some cases in K182, there is a *fatha* on or immediately after an *alif*. This seems to indicate the *hamza*: for example, *jā'ahum* in line 4 and *ahwā'ahum* in line 7. The vowel mark that usually stands for *fatha* (a dot above the letter) is sometimes used in K182 for the long *ā*, for example, l. 12, *la-nākibūn*.

THE TEXT OF K185

K185 is a Qur'ānic parchment with a size of 17.8 cm (width) × 12.5 cm (height). It includes verses from sura 19 (*Maryam*). The ink is brownish. There are no vowel signs, it appears. Diacritical marks often distinguish the final *nūn* but not other consonants (indeed, where the diacritic for the final *nūn* is missing, it can be supposed that the ink has worn away). Elisabeth Puin (2008: 468) has noted elsewhere that it is a rather frequent orthographic convention in early Qur'āns to supply final or independent *nūns* with a dot. There seems to be verse markers in K185 in a few, somewhat ambiguous, cases: recto, line 4, and verso, lines 2 and 6. Both sides have eighteen lines. The lack of vowel signs and the possible presence of the verse markers could indicate that K185 is earlier than K176 or K182, perhaps second/eighth–third/ninth century, but this is not certain. Like K176, K185 will be compared to the Qur'ānic manuscript Saray Medina 1a (= Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi: M 1), abbreviated here as SM1a.⁵²

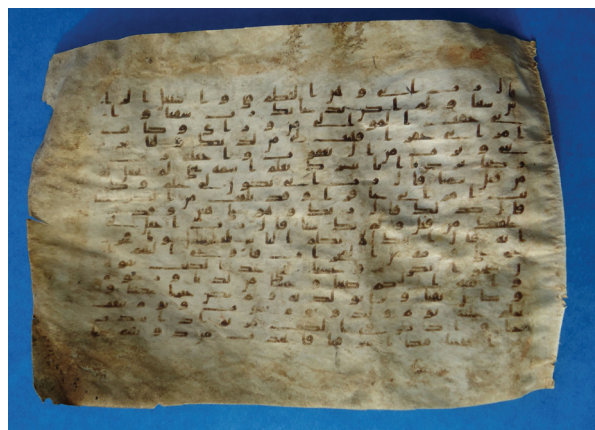


Figure 5 K185 recto

⁵² Viewable online at <corpuscoranicum.de/handschriften/index/sure/19/vers/4/handschrift/56>.

K185 Recto

K185 recto (Figure 5) comprises Q. 19:4–17 (partly). The last lines of the recto are somewhat damaged and difficult to decipher:

- ١ . قال رب انى وهن العظم منى واسئل الرا⁵³
- ٢ . س سينا ولم اكن بدعائك رب شفا وا
- ٣ . بى حب الموالى⁵⁴ من وراى وكان
- ٤ . امرانى عرا⁵⁵ فهب لى من لذك ولنا بر
- ٥ . بى ويرب من ال يعفوب واحعله رب
- ٦ . رصنا بركنا انا بنسرك بعلم اسمه بحى لم جعل له
- ٧ . من هيل سمنه فال⁵⁶ رب انى يكون لى علم وكا
- ٨ . ب امرانى عافرا⁵⁷ وقد بلعب من الكـ[خر عينا]⁵⁸
- ٩ . فال⁵⁹ كذلك قال ربك وهو⁶⁰ على هين وقد
- ١٠ . حلفك من هيل ولم يك سنا فال رب احعل لى
- ١١ . انه فال⁶¹ انك الا تكلم الناس بلب [لنال]⁶² سونا فحر
- ١٢ . ح على فومه من المحراب⁶³ فوحي النهم ا
- ١٣ . ن سحوا بكره وعسا [نبـ] حتى حد الكتب بعوه
- ١٤ . وانسه الحكم صنبا وحنبا⁶⁴ من لدنا ور[كـ]وه
- ١٥ . وكان بها وبر ا بولده ولم يكن حبرا⁶⁵ عصا و
- ١٦ . سلم عليه يوم ولد ونوم بموت ويوم نعب
- ١٧ . حنا وادكر فى الكتب مريم اد انسب
- ١٨ . [مـ] ا [هلها] مكابا⁶⁶ سرفنا فاحدب من دونهم [حدـ] با

K185 Verso

K185 verso (Figure 6) represents Q. 19:17 (partly)–31 (partly):

- ١ . يا فارسلى البها روحنا فيممل لها بسرا سونا فالب
- ٢ . انى اعود بالرحمن منك ان كتب بها⁶⁷ فال
- ٣ . انما انا رسول ربك لاهب لك علما ركنا فالب

53 There is a dot at the end of this and the next line, the significance of which is not certain, but it is probably to fill the line.

54 The Cairo ed. and SM1a, fol. 97 verso, omit the medial *ā*.

55 In the Cairo edition, this word is spelled with the medial *alif*: 'ـ'ـ*q-r*ـ'. SM1a, fol. 97 verso, like K185, omits the medial *ā*. In K185, there are three strokes after the word, possibly indicating nunation, or, as one of the reviewers suggested, a verse marker.

56 SM1a, fol. 98 recto, writes the word *q-l*, as is common in some early Qur'āns (Déroche 2014: 22).

57 SM1a, fol. 98 recto, omits the medial *ā*.

58 The ink is partially worn away.

59 SM1a, fol. 98 recto, writes the word *q-l*.

60 The word *wa-* is not present in the Cairo edition nor in SM1a, fol. 98 recto, but clearly present in K185.

61 In SM1a, fol. 98 recto, again *q-l*.

62 The parchment is hard to read at this point.

63 SM1a, fol. 98 recto, omits the medial *ā*.

64 ق: حننا

65 ق: جبارا. Similarly in SM1a, fol. 98 verso, which usually does not spell medial *ās*.

66 SM1a, fol. 98 verso, omits the medial *ā*.

67 There is a dot (in the same ink as the *rasm*) following the word. It is somewhat unclear whether it represents nunation or, perhaps, a verse marker.

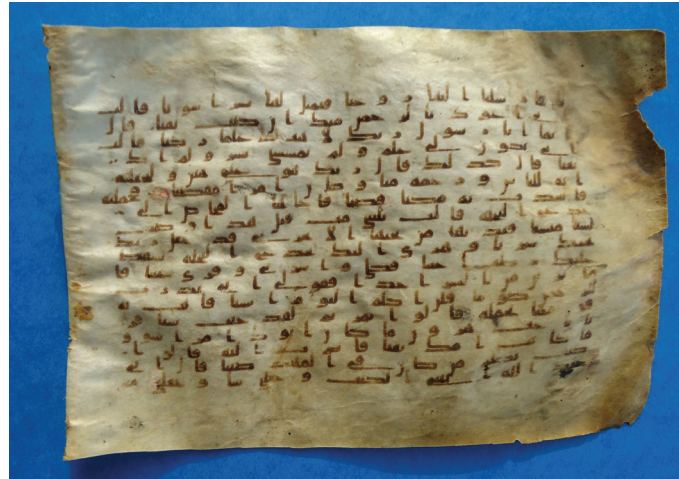


Figure 6 K185 verso

٤. ابي يكون لي علم ولم تمسسي بسر ولم اك⁶⁸
٥. بعنا قال كذلك قال ريك هو على هين ولنحمله
٦. انه للناس ورحمه منا وكان امرا مقصدا⁶⁹ فحملنه
٧. فانسدب به مكا⁷⁰ فصبا فاحاها⁷¹ المحاص الى⁷²
٨. جدع النحلة قالب تليسي مب فل هذا وكب
٩. بسا مسسا فندبها⁷³ من نحبها الا بحري قد جعل ريك
١٠. بحك سريا وهري النك جدع النحلة بسقط
١١. عليك رطنا حبنا فكلي واسري وهري عينا فا
١٢. ما برين من السر احدا فعولي ابي ندر
١٣. للرحمن صوما فلن اكلم اليوم انسبا فانب به
١٤. فومها بحمله فالوا بمرم لعد حب سنا⁷⁴ فر
١٥. با ناحب هرون ما كان ابوك امرا سو و
١٦. ما كانب امك بعنا فاسرب⁷⁵ الله فالوا
١٧. كف [نكلم]⁷⁶ من كان في المهد صبا فال ابي
١٨. [عد]⁷⁷ الله انسي الكب جعلني سنا وجعلني منا

Discussion of K185

As in K176 and K182 as well as Cairo, the scribe of K185 is not systematic with his writing of the medial *ā*. The same word, *‘āqiran*, is spelled in two divergent ways in K185 recto: in line 4, the medial *alif* is missing, but in line 8 it is present. In the Cairo edition, the medial

68 The word is followed by two dots, the only function of which seems to be the filling of the line.

69 On the parchment, there are two dots in brown ink and a circle in red ink (possibly a later addition) after this word. The marks seem to indicate, as the anonymous reviewers suggested, a ten verse marker.

70 ق: مكا. But SM1a, fol. 98 verso, omits the medial *ā* like K185.

71 SM1a, fol. 98 verso, spells the word *-j-y-h-*.

72 There is a dot or a dash following this word, probably to fill the line.

73 ق: فنادبها. SM1a, fol. 99 recto, agrees with K185.

74 SM1a, fol. 99 recto: بسا. It is unclear what this spelling indicates; maybe it is merely a scribal mistake.

75 ق: فاشارت. SM1a, fol. 99 recto, agrees with K185 in not spelling the medial *ā*.

76 The ink is worn out.

77 See fn. no. 76.

alif is present both times. K185 verso, line 9 (Q. 19:24), *fa-nādāhā*, represents an interesting example. In the Cairo edition, the word is spelled *f-n- ' -d-y-h- '*, while in K185 the first medial *ā* is missing: *f-n-d-y-h- '*. K185 does not seem to have any clear cases of *hamza* represented in its *rasm*. Significantly, K185 recto, line 9 (Q. 19:9), has an additional *wa-*, not present in the text of Cairo or the variant readings in the *qirā'āt* literature that I have consulted.

CONCLUSIONS

The Qur'ānic folios presented here attest some variant spellings to the text of the Cairo edition. The parchments have, in many cases, the *scriptio plena* where Cairo has a more defective writing (the medial *ā*). They do not, however, offer us anything spectacularly new in the field of Qur'ānic studies. Still, they give us more evidence that the *rasm* of Qur'ānic manuscripts was not completely stable and of the fact that the writing of the long vowel *ā* was a problem that different scribes solved in different ways, the solutions offered being the letters *alif*, *yā* ', or to leave it unwritten. The scholarly problem of whether or not the Ḥijāzī dialect of the Prophet contained the *hamza* continues to be interesting. It is rather significant that the scribe of K176 wrote what seems to be the *matres lectionis* for the medial *hamza* in two instances where they are lacking in the Cairo edition. The following picture most likely still holds true: while the Ḥijāzī dialect of the Prophet's time had lost the *hamza*, other dialects (and, later, classical Arabic) did include the *hamza* as a distinct phoneme.⁷⁸ Since the Arabic script did not have an unambiguous way of marking the *hamza*, scribes struggled to create means to write the phoneme in the early Islamic era (at least until the late second/eighth century).⁷⁹ We can thank them for the rather difficult rules of writing the *hamza* in classical Arabic. While the rules of how to write the *hamza* were already solved by the time these folios were copied, the earlier Qur'ānic *rasm* still affected the way the scribes were spelling the *hamza*, either leaving it unwritten or devising ways to use the vocalization marks to denote the phoneme. The *rasm* was tinkered with more rarely. However, the introduction of the *hamza* to the consonantal text seems to be attested in K176 verso, l. 6 (*tu 'yī?*) and l. 14 (*musta 'nisīna*).

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⁷⁸ For orientation on *hamza*, see Vollers 1906: 83–97; Fleisch 1971.

⁷⁹ For *hamza* as a grapheme in the early period, see also Imbert 2012.

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